/19 cont./

460 we shall not deny that work is accepted as an unpleasant means by which we free ourselves from misery or indigence or obtain another pleasure; to consider it as noble in itself and above all to practice it for pure love of the art is still the patrimony of very few.

In the light of these geographical principles there is no doubt that the so proverbial laziness of the Indians is reduced to very little. And the golden rule of St. Francis of Assisi, "according to places and times and cold regions" might perhaps suggest to us more benign ideas with regard to Indians. For an Indian it would be the height of weakness to say of him that he does not contract matrimony or that he limits the number of his children; by contrast in our cities that is the daily food and our daily bread, despite claims of being hard-working and industrious and lovers of nature. Should one wish to demand so much of the aborigines residing in isolated districts, dominated and almost absorbed by harsh nature, without the stimuli of refined pleasures and ambitions and without the possible accumulation and transportation of wealth by means of money?

462 41. We have often been asked about the division of labor between men and women and frequently also is it heard said that the Indians load down their women with labor while the men spend their lives in idleness. Naturally, if we compare the Indian women with women mannequins, perhaps we could say that they are slaves; but when studied in the natural system of country life, our conclusion is that their work is equitably divided and that the division of labor which is observed among them might well be taken as a model. In effect, the man clears the land, fells trees, clears paths, hollows canoes, does all the building of huts and houses, makes sandals, manufactures twine and all kinds of arms and artifacts for hunting and fishing and even basketwork objects; he alone does all the operations of hunting and fishing.

The woman sows, pulls up, carries, and prepares foodstuffs; of woven articles she makes only those used by her or by the

/19 cont./

462 children, such as adornments of strings of beads, straps for carrying children, and hammocks; they make ollas (where they can find suitable clay); and they care for the cleanliness of the house and its surroundings and the raising of the children. In short, pertaining to the man are the use of the machete, the axe, weapons, etc., and to the woman ollas, decorations, the broom, etc.

484 Only on journeys, considered apart from the rest of their
482 life, do the Indian women appear laden like the bachaco /an antlike insect/, /20/ while the men walk unburdened with weapons in hand. But it should be considered that the Indian travels this way always in hope of game that may appear at an unexpected moment, and that frequently he leaves the beaten path to run on to an agreed meeting point or the end of the trip.

461 Often the Indian man will be found lying down in his
462 hammock while the woman prepares the meal for him; but on many other occasions the Indian woman will be seen resting or relaxed in her hut while the man, abandoning repose, in wind, cold, and rain is hunting animal food (not so easy to obtain as is the vegetable) in the early mornings, at nightfall, or running the whole day long with but a piece of cassava in his bag.

[521] To be sure among the Indians as well they debate the eternal and hateful question (especially in moments of displeasure) of whether the women work more than the men or vice-versa, and the final conclusion is always in favor of the person speaking and against those of the opposite group. But this proves nothing, since nobody is a fair judge in his own case.

461 42. The much-cackled-about laziness of the Indians as a
538 group having thus been resolved, we do not deny that among them, at the side of the arikenak, diligent one, exists the enakiní, the weak and lazy one, both of them so ably portrayed in the tale of the owl and the duck. They also say that just

/20 cont./

461 like the tapui amuenín and mua akenín (builder of houses and
538 organizer of agricultural work), there are the kamí tarén (one who lives in his hammock) and the tereutasén nakê (the eternal stroller-about), who cannot relax because he has a pointed stick in his critical part, and the karán (traveler), who often turns out to be a karán-karán (head insect), who lives
[126] off the work of others. Precisely on the subject of these last a few days ago I received a drawing from one of those educated in our boarding school in San Francisco de Luepa, with the following expressive caption: Kamí tarenkon, iuantón, "Those who live in the hammock, live hungry."

114
433 43. For more proof I want to transcribe Dr. Simpson's
461 words in his work Los Kamarakotos, page 541, on this same subject, since we are in complete agreement. "The Kamarakoto have a very definite standard of living which almost all of them attain. They work hard to maintain a home of their own, with a good house, adequate conuco /fields/, hammocks, baskets, and all of the goods that they need, personal adornments, and other items of property inherent in their way of life.

"When these necessities are for the moment satisfied, /21/ the Indians relax and have fun. The heaping up of wealth, saving for the future, and any accumulation of goods that is not for daily use is not even attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered true loafers.

"Bearing in mind their standard, they have abundant energy that they display when, by this same standard, they have any reason whatsoever to work; it is thus completely unjust to
[462] apply to them the term idlers." "Neither is it true, say what you will about other Indians, that the Kamarakoto assign to their women an inequitable portion of the work."

008 44. Whence, then, it will be said, the backwardness and lack of culture of these Indians? I am the first to recognize and to touch with my own hands the lack of culture and

/82 cont./

412 axes) to dig in the earth; when they cut the hair with rays'
241 teeth; when they had wooden knives; when they cleaned or
501 cleared their fields for planting by means of fire applied to the tree trunks; when they manufactured their canoes only by con-
372 trolling a fire; and, all in all, when /83/ they obtained this fire by friction of sticks, principally with a stick /verada/ of caña brava and cotton tinder.

105 Those who would like to apply to the Indians what they have learned from the current manuals of paleontology, will find themselves faced with the strange phenomenon of a culture which is rather highly developed without having arrived at the use of stone. So that it may be seen that reality is more varied than all systems, and that to strain to accommodate new data to old systems is like putting new wine into old bags: the latter will burst and the former spill out, as the Divine Teacher said.

462 180. Already in another section, when we spoke of the industry of the Indians, there was noted the division of lot which fell to each of the sexes in work and the making of utensils and tools: hunting, fishing, dwellings, clearing, and basketwork, to the men; agriculture, cooking, hammocks, and cleaning, to the women. This division, which is so natural, seems to be shown in Genesis when we are told that the man gave names to all the animals and that the woman went to pick the fruits from the trees. Thus is the opinion of
531 Mons. Fernández Valbuena with other ethnographers. We must here add that the men as well as the women in the manufacture of their respective implements seek and attempt /to obtain/ not only utility but also art; they try to combine utility and attractiveness; and even in the crudest tools there is always the touch of artistry and of esthetics, so that they well deserve the name "artifacts." They combine colors, make geometric figures or delineations of stylized animals, finish with tassels or plumes, disguise the joints, reinforce the edgings or fringes, etc.

244 311 134 242 the experiment seemed to be a failure, the soil being too poor to grow a crop. In this vicinity the sabanas are generally on alluvial terraces, dry and sandy or pebbly, while the forests are on rich soil mainly of decomposed igneous rock.

241 To prepare a conuco, the brush and trees are cut down, the brush piled and burned and the trees, which do not entirely burn, left where they fall (see [462] Fig. 13). This work is done entirely by the men, who use steel axes and machetes for it. Planting is also done by the men,[108] but the scanty cultivation and all the harvesting is done by the women. Casave is planted in hills usually roughly alined and other plants scattered around, with the casave or separately, more or less at random (see Fig. 14).

A conuco is ordinarily abandoned after one year although some products, like bananas, continue to be gathered as long as they bear without further attention. For casave and annuals a new patch is cleared every dry season.

[262] Casave is the staff of life and of course occupies the greater part of the conucos. Chile peppers, of which there are many kinds, are also indispensable and bananas, also varied, perhaps come next in importance. The following plants, including a few not used for food, were seen growing in the several conucos examined in Kamarata:

Casave.
Yams, (etc.). Dioscorea, at least three varieties.
Ocumos, Xanthosoma.
Sweet Potatoes.
Bananas, at least six varieties.
Plantains, at least two varieties.
Squash.
Sugar cane.
Papayas.
Watermelons.
Corn (only one variety seen, but two or three said to occur).
Chile peppers, at least six varieties.
Peanuts.
Black beans.
Pupu (see above).
Cotton.
Tobacco.

[224] Kumi (a plant not eaten but rubbed in cuts for luck in hunting).

241 177 All of these plants are rather surely pre-Columbian in this region, and probably also in this tribe, except bananas, plantains, sugar cane, and watermelons. There seems to be room for a slight doubt regarding bananas and plantains. They are generally believed to have been introduced by Europeans, but if so they spread rapidly and far almost at once after the discovery of America, and spread ahead of the actual penetration of the Europeans. Wild

108 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 125]

224 identification of these animals). These are the staple food animals, as nearly
262 as any can so be called. Capybaras, kapi:ba, armadillos, atsi:gamo, merun, and mauraima, and anteaters, waremę, are sometimes eaten but are not so
[261] specifically hunted. Monkeys, carnivores, sloths, opossums, and the small rodents are not regularly hunted or eaten except in times of food scarcity. Some allied Indians, even among the Arekunas, regularly eat monkeys but most of the Kamarakotos expressed distaste for monkey flesh.

In spite of the variety of food mammals available, it seems in fact to be relatively rare to obtain one and their meat, however much enjoyed when obtained, is not a staple. Few mammal bones are seen around the houses and the Indians do not claim to be able to procure such game regularly.[110]

223 Birds are more often procured, but still not regularly. They range from
262 the large okira and karmaiba down to the tiny kamata. The principal sorts eaten will be found in the Vocabulary.[1]

224 Among reptiles and amphibians only the tortoises and the larger lizards,
225 ayamaka, are ordinarily eaten, and these not often. ayamaka-eggs are an
262 eagerly sought delicacy when in season and the eggs of practically all the larger wild birds are also eaten. Most Indians eat crocodilians and the absence of these from the Kamarakoto diet is perhaps due rather to rarity and difficulty of capture than to distaste.

222 Among insects the large ant-like bachacos, kaiba^{3}, are eaten as are
262 some larvae found in palm trees, tsiya^{4} and iwo. Other insects may be eaten in times of need but are not regular items of diet. Wild honey, tautsan-yeuku,
[231] is much prized but is not abundant enough to be a staple. I did not hear of any
[237] attempts to domesticate bees. Honey is also used for tattooing and beeswax for fastening blowguns together, coating quivers, etc.

Hunting.

224 Hunting, carried on only by men, is a favorite occupation but probably
[462] not a very productive one. One would anticipate that such Indians would be
[433] skillful hunters and certainly all the men engage in this and have abundant paraphernalia for it and many tales of their prowess, but as far as I could check
[125] the actual performance it is not impressive. For instance we employed successively two men who were agreed to be the best hunters in the tribe, arranged for them to have all their time for this, gave them whatever they wished in the way of ammunition, and offered extra prizes for any unusual success, but one of them did not succeed in getting any game and the other drew blank most days and in a week he got only one animal, an acure, that could be considered a
[262] success from the point of view of pot-hunting. I have already remarked on the evidence that animal food is more a treat than a regular item of diet. We were
[411] also unimpressed by such examples of marksmanship, with their weapons or with ours, as we saw.

[110] [see foot note on pp. 319-20, category 116 – Analyst]
[1] [see vocabulary on pp. 59-61, category 116 – Analyst]

226 far the poison has progressed. As soon as the muddy water reaches them, the men begin beating the bundles of poison-vine on rocks, dipping them in the water from time to time, so that the juice runs into the stream, which it turns slightly milky. The women and small boys stand below and follow the poison down the stream, scooping out the fish with nets (iruʔ) or with their hands. When the men can be spared from the beating, they join the women and gather fish also to some extent, but more as an amusement, sometimes quite unnec- ● [462] essarily shooting them with arrows. As a task, the gathering is assigned to the women. New doses of poison may be beaten into the water at lower points, especially in the larger pools, if needed.

The effect of the poison becomes attenuated quickly, even a large quantity of strong poison having little or no effect a kilometer below the point where fishing is started. A few fish are killed outright, but most of them are only incapacitated, swimming in circles and belly-up, and if they are not gathered those less heavily poisoned seem to recover after a time. The poison has abso- [277] lutely no effect on humans. The Indians wade and swim in heavily poisoned water and even drink it.[120] Our own water supply was poisoned while we were in camp and no one felt the slightest ill effect.

226 185 The practice of poisoning fish has been bitterly attacked as shockingly wasteful and as exterminating the fish. My impression is that it is not wasteful and does not lead to extermination. Indeed the latter charge is absurd when one considers that the Indians have been poisoning these streams for centuries, perhaps for thousands of years, and that fish are still abundant in them. The poison does not, as has been supposed, sterilize the stream and the short section over which all the fish are removed at any one fishing is quickly repopulated from above and below. It is true that large fish have become uncommon here, partly because the larger and rarer fish are killed off not with poison but with arrows and hooks, and partly because constant fishing prevents any individual's reaching a considerable age although it does give ample time for breeding. As for wastefulness, it must be a rare fish, indeed, that is poisoned but not gathered and eaten. Even the tiniest fish are carefully saved. Those that are lightly poisoned and escape by swimming do not appear to be permanently harmed.

224 [527] A fish-poisoning is also a great social occasion and the stream rings with laughter and chatter — a happy event that leaves no headache as do other Indian social occasions.

[252] [261] [251] Many of the fish gathered are immediately stewed and eaten. Any surplus is sun-dried and saved for the future.

Food Preparation.

252 The Kamarakotos cook all the food that we would ordinarily cook. They do not eat raw meat, fish, or vegetables and very little is eaten raw except

120 [see footnote on p. 32 category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 137]

basket (see "Textiles"), woven so as to be extensible, closed at one end and open at the other. Each end has a strong basketwork loop. The tangöi' is filled and the loop at the open (upper) end hung over a protruding beam — such beams are specially provided in the dwelling, workhouse, or both. A pole is then passed through the lower loop and one end tied to an upright post. The preparer (always a woman) then sits on the other end, thus extending the tangöi' and causing it to squeeze the grated casave. The liquid runs out the bottom and is saved.

The nearly dry meal is then sifted through a rectangular basketwork sieve, pangaï' (see "Textiles") and is forthwith patted into a thin layer on a large flat stove, puitari, under which a fire is built. The resulting large, thin, circular cake is the casave bread, or casave properly speaking, eke. It is somewhat soft when fresh, but may be dried for conservation and then becomes very hard. To the unaccustomed palate it tastes like a fairly good grade of sawdust, but those who eat it regularly maintain that it has a distinct and agreeable flavor. It is the principal food of the Kamarakotos.

Some of the more southern tribes roast the sifted meal and so preserve it without baking it into loaves or sheets, but the Kamarakotos do not do this.

Among other dishes, first place must be given to a sort of soup or thin stew, kumasa, the so-called "pepper-pot" of travelers, universal among Caribs. This is cooked in an earthenware pot over a firehole. There are innumerable varieties of this dish, which consists of water and peppers, with anything else that happens to be at hand, bits of meat or fish, bones, casave meal, bananas or plantains, etc.

Casave juice, kumachi, is added to this or to any boiled dish as a sort of condiment.[121] Varieties in which any ingredient, other than pepper, predominates may be specially named, e.g. kuratano-kumasa, "plantain soup or stew," just as we name soups. Vegetables, particularly roots like the varieties of Dioscorea, are often boiled whole or in large pieces instead of being mashed into a kumasa. This dish is called putosa, e.g. napuei-putosa, boiled mapueyes. The root vegetables and plantains are also roasted in hot ashes, pusa, e.g. piricha-pusa, roasted yams.

Aside from its use, principally as scraps and bones, in kumasa, meat may be boiled, woto-erindasa, or roasted on a sort of tripod over the fire, woto-kambwö.

There is no local source of salt and long periods may pass without any being used, but the Kamarakotos are eager for it and have long traded for it through neighboring tribes. Even when available it is used sparingly and the Indians found most of our food so salty as to be inedible. Much of their food is so peppery as to be inedible to us, and the extensive use of peppers doubtless counteracts the flatness of unsalted food. Their root vegetables doubtless naturally contain enough salts to sustain life.

121 [see footnote on p. 321, category 11b – Analyst]

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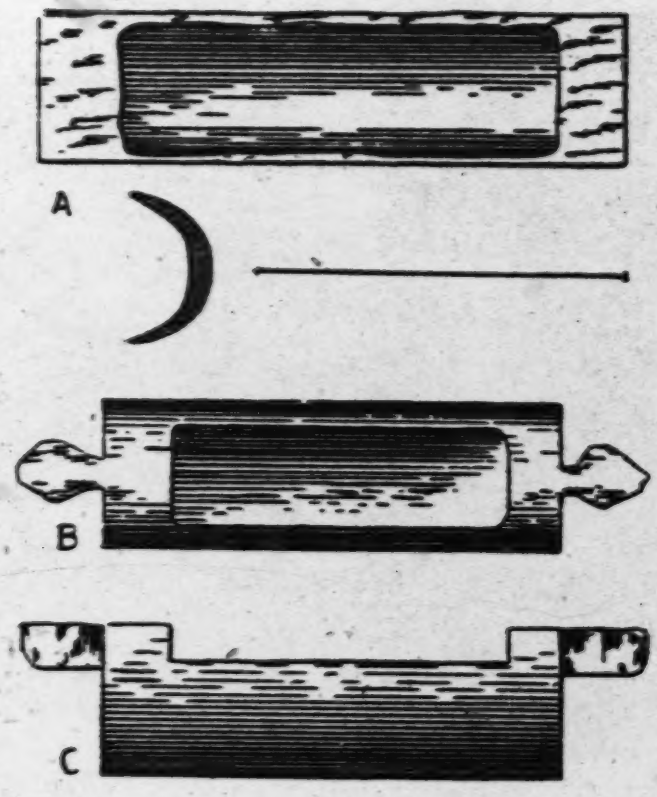

Fig. 27 — Kamarakoto Troughs.
A, trough used for grated cassave, mom, seen from above and in cross section. B, trough used for making kachiri, watea, seen from above and from the side.

323 gradually built up. Then clay for the sides is applied from a thick roll, but it would be incorrect to call this coiled ware. The roll is merely a convenient way of adding bits of clay; from it the clay is smoothed into the vessel and the roll is not really applied as a coil. After modeling, the pots are thoroughly sun-dried and then baked on an ordinary open wood fire. They immediately become and remain black.

323 438 462 Pots, made only by women, are not manufactured everywhere in this region since they require a combination of local talent and local supply of suitable

283 controlled and the fibers are individually longer, so that an almost microscopic strand of a few fibers or a heavy, up to 3 mm., single-twisted strand can be produced. Thus a stout 3-ply bowstring is made from three heavy initial strands, each about 2 mm. in diameter. The basic twisting in this manner is more often to the right, but both are common, and I believe that Kamarakoto hand-
[17] twining must be classified as mixed with right predominating. Frödin and Nordenskiöld have shown that right hand-twining is much more common than left and they classify the Arekunas (probably all Taurepánes in their sample) as right-twining, but with exceptional left-twining and they do show the Guiana coastal Indians as mixed in this respect. In fact, some Indians, including the Kamarakotos, make hand-twine by a technique that can twist it both ways from the middle, and in general the direction of twisting in hand-twisting is not as consistent or as clear a reflection of basic technique as for spinning.

In making some moriche twine, as for sandal fastenings, a curious and rapid technique is employed. The fibers are separated into two bundles and rolled up the thigh, both at once but so that they remain separate, producing two left-twisted strands. The hand then immediately runs down the thigh, twisting these two strands together into a right-twisted two-ply twine.

[829] While on the subject of twine, it should be remembered that strips of bark and vines of all kinds and sizes are often used like twine or rope. Thus tobacco will be tied into a strip of bark for curing, house frames are tied together with vines, etc. Aside from their uses in textiles, however, the spun and twisted twines are commonly used as string to tie loads, baskets, etc.

Textiles Made of Thread.

28 Textiles made of thread (or twine), which is highly flexible in all directions, naturally require different techniques and serve different purposes from those made of more rigid materials, such as those employed in basketry. The two are, however, related and show a tendency toward association in a single culture complex. This is especially true in cases, like that of the Kamarakotos, in which the basketry is plaited, twined, and woven — techniques also employed in thread textiles — rather than coiled — a technique that cannot be applied to thread textiles.

283 Cotton and bast threads have much the same properties, but they differ
286 enough that in any one tribe a given type of textile is almost invariably made
171 of one and not the other. Between different tribes there may, however, be re-
[352] placement of one by the other. Thus the Kamarakotos and most other Caribs make cotton hammocks but many Arawaks, who are in general less proficient
[462] in cotton techniques, make bast-thread hammocks.[142] There is also commonly an element of sexual division of labor in these differences. Among the Kamarakotos and various other tribes the spinning of cotton and the manufacture of

142 [see footnote on p.323, category 116 — Analyst]

283 textiles from it is woman's work while the twisting of bast and the manufacture
286 of textiles from it, although occasionally performed by a woman, is generally
[174] man's work.
[162]

In this tribe, however, bast textiles are uncommon. Bast thread or twine is usually used as such and the only textile usually made of it is netting.

286 The Kamarakotos say that they formerly made large pieces of cloth not
[171] unlike the "zaraza" or trade goods now used for loin cloths and dresses. They are still acquainted with a weaving technique capable of producing true cloth, hardly identical with "zaraza" but similar, and such fabrics are known from related tribes. (E.g., Roth, 1924, Plate 10, Fig. C, shows an Akawai baby sling that includes a large quadrangle of native woven cloth.) At present, however, the supply of trade goods is nearly enough equal to the demand and this true weaving technique is used only to produce long narrow bands.

The Kamarakotos now know and use five thread-textile techniques, each closely associated with different finished articles. To these should be added the several bead-techniques, which also use thread but are so distinct that they are here discussed separately. The five thread techniques are as follows:

1. True weaving, producing long narrow bands for headdresses, carrying straps, etc.
2. Loom twining, producing an open-meshed fabric made in the form of hammocks.
3. Loom plaiting, producing wide circular bands used as baby slings.
4. One-needle crocheting, producing a tight fabric usually in small circular bands, for armlets, anklets, purses (pakara), etc.
5. Knotting, producing netting mainly for fish nets.

[114] True weaving is the one textile technique that I did not see and the de-
[12] scription of it was not entirely clear to me. I have, however, good specimens of the textile thus made. The warp is composed of relatively few strands, usually four for a headband but as many as thirty-two for a carrying strap, which are stretched on a simple frame or between fixed sticks (this is the point that was not clear to me in the description of the process). The weft is then woven in by hand, using a flat stick as a separator and batten. (The Kamarakotos do not use either heddles or shuttles in any of their textile work, although both are known among some rather distantly related tribes in British Guiana.) The whole weft is a single continuous strand, which doubles back around the last warp strand on each side.

Although the weaving technique is basically the same for both, two fabrics of quite different appearance are made in this way (Fig. 37). In one, used for headbands, each warp strand is a thick bundle of separate threads (each of which is, in turn, usually two-ply). A six-fold warp strand is common, but the number is not constant. These heavy warp strands remain straight and the weft strands are simply twined around them. The surface of the finished fabric is

286 As the apron becomes wider below, additional warp strands are added by tying into the most medial of the border bundles -- the borders are never widened and additional warp strands are almost invariably added from the border, only very rarely within the area below the top tie.

When the beaded area is completed, the ends of the warp strands and some other threads added for the purpose are knotted around a transverse string and left projecting as a fringe, which is often dyed pink or reddish brown. Typical completed aprons are shown in Fig. 47.

Bead bands, festoons, and a few special types of stringing beads, although not strictly textiles, have the same character and involve the same sorts of problems. Self-explanatory illustrations of several types of this work are given, Figs. 48-49. Beads are always strung simultaneously on two separate threads [283] even when this is not a technical necessity as it is in the apron fabric. Cotton [462] is generally used, but occasionally very fine curagua thread is employed. All bead work is done by women.

Basketry.

*285 The Kamarakotos make and use baskets in great numbers and variety and their skill in this respect is perhaps their most interesting characteristic to the visitor. Baskets are necessary to almost every phase of Kamarakoto life. Among the things for which they are used are:

[482] Carrying — a wide variety of baskets adapted for carrying almost everything, light or heavy, that an Indian has to transport.

[251] Storage — open baskets of several sorts for storing food, etc., also chests, jewel boxes, and others.

Mats, as floor mats for closing doors.

Pans.

Plates and trays for serving food.

Cassave presses.

Cassave sifters.

Trays for drying cotton, etc.

Bird cages.

Fish traps.

Quivers for blowgun darts.

It must, however, also be noted as characteristic that the Kamarakotos and their allies do not use basketry for purposes common among some distant Indians, for instance in North America. They do not make water containers of basketry and so have no boiling baskets, water storage baskets, or basket canteens, cups, and bottles. They do not use basketry as an adjunct to pottery manufacture, nor do they make any clothing, sandals, cradles or baby-carriers of basketry. Finally, they do not make any sort of basketry furniture.

*286 482 sides and at the bottom by a high, continuous rim of basketwork, but not at the top. In the akaĩ' the weave is the same throughout and consists of any type of lattice, that shown in Fig. 65 B being most common. In the koataĩ' the bottom is of closed twill, usually with a repeating square spiral pattern, and the sides are latticed. In both the bottom strands are continuous with those of the sides. The sides are never of closework. This basketry is bound all around the edge with split lianas in various ways like those already described for split-cane re-enforced edging on baskets. The back is re-enforced by a rectangular frame of four sticks placed inside but with the ends projecting through the basketwork, lashed with wadapi and also tied to the basketry with curagua twine. Outside the basketry, beneath the longer pieces of this inner frame, two considerably heavier sticks are lashed. A small liana or a split large one is fastened at each bottom lower corner, outside, bent over the rim, and passes down to the same corner inside. A brace of spirally wrapped wadapi runs from the edging at each top outer corner to the top edging of the back piece and another, shorter, from the free part of this to the edging between its two attachments. Finally, a stout cotton cord, to be used to anchor the lacing of the load, is usually permanently looped all around the edging and a more slender, long piece, to use as lacing, is tied to this at some point. Carrying straps, usually of bark, are attached to the heavy sticks outside the base, one to go over the head and two to slip up the arms over the shoulders, although either the head strap or the shoulder straps may be omitted. Among the Taurepánes and apparently most [412] [184] other tribes, these are used by men and women. Among the Kamarakotos they are, like all basketry, made by men but except in very unusual circumstances only the women use them, the man's back-pack being quite different (see "Transportation") and not of basketwork.

*285 411 [128] [237] As regards the dart-quiver, nõi-ye (Fig. 67), I am in the same position as regarding the kapok basket that accompanies it. I cannot be certain that any particular specimen examined was really of Kamarakoto manufacture. The mode of construction is also largely concealed in the finished article, which is all I have seen, by its being heavily covered with beeswax. In this case, however, all are nearly the same in construction and since the Kamarakotos do make some, a general description must apply to their work. The inside of the quiver is a separate basket (sewn to the outer layers) which in the cases I have seen has a square single-hourglass base and all-over twill sides. This is surrounded by at least one and apparently several other layers of heavier basketry, forming a long cylinder flaring at both ends. The upper end is left open, its thick edge neatly braided, and the lower end closed with a circular plate cut from a calabash, tied in place with curagua twine. Except for this [283] base and the upper rim the outside is heavily smeared with beeswax. At about the middle a wide spiral wrapping of moriche cord is tightly applied over the beeswax, and into this is bound a short loop, just long enough to slip over the

[text continues on p. 198]

589 595 162 is a definite group of sexually mature but young and (as a group) not quite full-grown men who are not married, a definite young bachelor class in the tribe.

Division of Labor

511 461 Kamarakotos have a very definite standard of living which is almost universally attained. They work hard to maintain a proper household, with a good dwelling, an adequate farm-patch, hammocks, baskets, and such other household objects as they require, personal ornaments, and the other appurtenances of their way of life. When these things are, for the moment, achieved, the [556] [185] Indians rest and play. Hoarding of wealth, provision for the future, or any accumulation of things not for current use is not attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered at all lazy, and given their own standards and their abundant energy when they have, by these standards, any reason to work, it is entirely unjust to apply the word "lazy" to them at all.

●462 Nor is it true of them, whatever can be said of other Indians, that an unfair amount of labor is assigned to the women. Man's work and woman's work are, as a rule, sharply defined. Men and women do different things and often their work is done at different times, but they do roughly equivalent amounts of work. A man may be seen idly watching a woman work, but not more often than a woman idly watching a working man. It is also noteworthy that there are many operations in which men and women work together, seldom doing the same task but performing integrated parts of a common task. And while in general a man will not do a woman's work, he will do so if circumstances warrant. For instance, nothing is more typically woman's work than carrying a [554] [464] baby, but I have seen a man doing this, leaving the woman unburdened, on a long trek when his wife became tired.

The most important characters of the division of labor are:

Men	Women
The felling of trees, clearing of ground, and the actual construction of all buildings.	Most of the hauling and carrying incidental to building, but the men may help some.
Clearing and planting of conucos.	Cultivation and harvesting of crops and carrying them to the house.
All hunting and fishing except, in part, fish-poisoning.	----------

462 In fish-poisoning, the actual preparation and the beating of the poison into the water.

In fish-poisoning, the gathering of the fish, but the men often help when their own task is done.

All food preparation.

Manufacture of twisted thread, (curagua, moriche, etc.)

Manufacture of spun thread (cotton).

Manufacture of sandals.

Manufacture of all cotton textiles, baby slings, pakara, hammocks, etc., also all sewing of Europeanized garments.

Manufacture (and use) of all weapons, fish nets, etc.

All basketwork.

All beadwork.

Manufacture and use of all musical instruments (except simple jingle-rattle ornaments).

Such woodwork as is done (benches, canoes, etc.).

Manufacture of pottery.

[854] Some help with care of children.

Almost all of the care of children (which is slight except for babies carried by the women in a sling).

Incidental fetching and carrying, as of firewood and water.

Helping with the heavy carrying, as on journeys.

Much, often the lion's share, of heavier carrying, as on journeys.

Even to the most prejudiced European eyes, this division can hardly be called manifestly unequal, and it even has the familiar European basis: in general the man makes, defends, and supplies the home, while the woman maintains it. The only very peculiar feature, to non-Indian eyes, is that the

[text continues on p. 229]

462 women do rather more than half of the heavy carrying, but I have already noted that the men are really ready to assist if needed, and the men do considerable work, such as the very laborious basketwork, that might, a priori, be believed to be woman's work.

[171] The general pattern of this division of labor is typically Carib, but the details vary much from tribe to tribe. For instance planting, here done by the man, is commonly woman's work elsewhere and hammocks, here made by women, are often made by men elsewhere.

Legal Concepts

Property.

421 The Indians are not capitalists in that they have no permanent title to real property, no personal command of the means of production, no accumulated or hereditary wealth, and no property right in the labor of others. At the same time they have a very real and lively sense of personal property and in other ways also their society is decidedly not communistic. In general what an individual makes or uses is his. When he ceases to use it, it reverts to the public domain.

423 Thus it could be said that the land, in general, belongs to the tribe in common, or that it belongs to no one, but when a man clears a conuco or builds a house on a portion of land, that land is his. No one has the right to use it (or even to enter it against his wishes) as long as he is in occupation, and its products are exclusively his, free of any obligation to share or divide them. When he leaves it, however, he cannot transfer title to it. It reverts to commons and any comer can occupy it or enjoy its fruits and use. The same is true of structures erected on the land.

592 Such property may be said to belong to the household group or to the
423 to?-esa? as its leader and representative. Another very important special case
226 of such ownership is that of fishing rights. According to custom, which of course is the equivalent of uncodified law, a household established on or near a stream owns the fishing rights on that stream from its dwelling downstream as far as the next habitation. These rights are very rigidly maintained. Even a fish killed upstream is lost to the killer if it floats below the next household before being gathered. Of course several or many households do commonly unite in poisoning a given stretch of water and all share in the results, but this
[685] is only by invitation of the household owning the right to that water. Violation
[22] of these rights is among the most serious offenses known to the Indians, as is suggested by the fact that the last bloody war, of which they retain vivid but
[224] confused memories, is said to have arisen from such a violation. There seems, on the other hand, to be no proprietorship of hunting rights.

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

551 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
223 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
224 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in
[262] North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call the plant kosɛra, the root kõsɛ, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

539
[825] 188. The large kind called po. inga.

189. His death has nothing to do with the story — one of several such parenthetical statements that add circumstantial detail for no apparent reason.

190. Tangõi?.

191. Pangai?.

● [462] 192. The making of the press and sieve of basketwork is man's work, assigned to Maichak. The making of the casave itself is woman's work.

193. "Tirita" = manare.

[241] 194. Casave plant, kõsura.

[482] [171] 195. akai?. The use by Maichak of a sort of back-pack now used almost exclusively by women among the Kamarakotos is peculiar, and it is noteworthy that the akai? is used by men among allied tribes.

[241] 196. The kind called polopakai?.

[825] 197. A "chupacacao," kadau-kadau in Kamarakoto. The species of the two preceding birds was not mentioned.

[126] [192] 198. In using "king" and "queen," I follow Antonio's Spanish, "rey" and "reina." It should be "princess," since the king's daughter is meant, and the Indian words are, of course, better rendered as "chief" and "chief's daughter," but it seemed better to follow my main source, Antonio's Spanish version, as exactly as possible.

199. As the event proved, it was not the king, but the story is here told from Maichak's point of view.

200. See note 198, above.

[551] 201. The queen's name is nowhere given and my informants did not know it. The giving of any personal names is contrary to the practice of daily life.

[584] [583] 202. The previous relationship was irregular, since the bride's parents were not consulted. Now her father's consent is sought to regularize the